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ABSTRACT

Current concern over the link between the teaching of foreign languages and cultures is itself an American cultural concern, born of a specifically American educational tradition focusing on utility, democracy, and scientific measures of progress. State guidelines for integration of the teaching of languages and culture reflect the following issues: skill vs. content; political goals; nonacademic objectives; and academic learning outcomes. These contrast with the situation in France and Germany, where foreign languages do not need the extensive legitimation they do in the United States. The need to account for the cultural dimensions of language forces review of the traditional, positivistic conception of quantitative, normative, linear language learning. Several developments on the national level in the United States make foreign languages part of the general push for curricular internationalization, including increased interest international studies, establishment of a National Foreign Language Center, and addition of cultural proficiency guidelines. The notion of the global village and the assumption of universal pragmatic needs is an obstacle to genuine understanding of other world views. Traditional questions asked of foreign language education in instructional settings must be reframed to form an intercultural pedagogical approach. (MSE)

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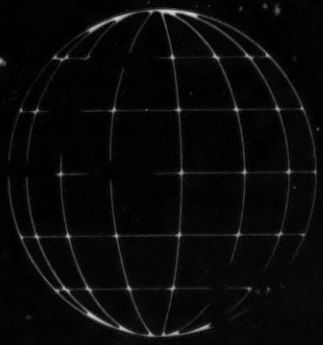

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NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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New Directions in the Teaching of Language and Culture

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Since the beginning of the decade, two developments have prompted American foreign language teachers to give a renewed look to the relationship of language and culture. First, political and economic realities have forced the teaching of foreign languages to step out of its academic ivory tower and become more closely linked to its practical outcomes for communicating with real people in their natural environment. At the same time, progress in language acquisition research has broadened and diversified our conception of what it means to be communicatively competent in a language. Sociolinguistic competence has been identified as a key aspect of successful communication; background knowledge and shared assumptions have been shown to be a crucial element in understanding oral and written forms of discourse. These developments have run parallel to, albeit a little later than, analogous trends that have taken place in Europe since the 1970s. At this point, on both sides of the Atlantic, it is generally recognized that there is more to the successful exchange of meanings than knowledge of forms and structures and even to their appropriate use—or rather, that everything revolves around what one means by "appropriate use." Foreign language educators in the United States tend to lump this surplus of meaning under the category "culture." But what do we mean by culture?

The difficulty in dealing with this topic lies in its unavoidable subjectivity and relativity. Different countries have different political cultures, different intellectual styles, different societal fears, hopes, prides, different meanings and values attached to language and culture themselves. The American common use of the word *culture* includes traditions, beliefs, and institutions shared by a social group or a whole society; it has an ethnographic flavor to it. American foreign language textbooks distinguish between big C, the culture of literary classics and works of art, and small c, the culture of the four Fs: foods, fairs, folklore, and statistical facts. Both are generally viewed as distinct from the teaching of language per se. German and French share the American meaning of culture through their words *Kultur* and *culture* respectively, but they have also other words that occur in conjunction with foreign language pedagogy: German language educators tends to use the word *Landeskunde*, which has a more geographical connotation and generally covers all aspects of the geophysical, political, economic, social, and ideological context in which the users of the language live and work. The French have two words: *la culture* generally refers to an extensive body of knowledge as well as to qualities of mind and usage of the French language acquired mostly through exposure to the French educational system (*culture* is the privilege of the "cultivated" person, or "educated native speaker"). *La civilisation* is roughly the lexical equivalent of the German *Landeskunde* with a slightly greater emphasis on history and literature than its German counterpart.

I will try to take here an interdisciplinary perspective on the topic, staying clear of the distinction between big C and small c, and concentrating instead on what Attinasi and Friedrich (1988) call "linguaculture," that stresses the inseparability of language and culture (language *in* culture, language *as* culture, and other combinations), as constituting a single universe or domain of experience. The example of the communicative approaches to the teaching of English as the world's lingua franca, that have tended to promote a universally cultural mode of communication based on pragmatic needs and functional imperatives, cannot be extended in its pure form to the teaching of national languages. Rather than seek ways of teaching culture as a fifth skill,

similar to reading, writing, speaking, and listening, we have to explore the cultural dimensions of the very languages we teach if we want learners to be fully communicatively competent in these languages.

In my view, the current concern over the link between the teaching of foreign languages and foreign cultures is itself an American cultural concern that is born out of a specifically American educational tradition.

1. EDUCATIONAL TRADITIONS IN THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

1.1 Utility, Democracy, and Scientific Measures of Progress (United States)

The teaching of foreign languages and cultures in American public schools bears the mark of American educational history. Whereas in most other industrialized countries the primary aims of education have traditionally been general intellectual discipline and development of the mind, predicated on the idea that the acquisition of a body of knowledge, of a mind culture or intellectual training, is good both for higher education and for life, American education since World War I has had different priorities. At a time of economic prosperity, political stability, and American supremacy abroad, the 1911 report of the National Educational Association's (NEA) Committee of Nine and the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education of 1918 marked the deliberate rejection of the public schools as agencies for academic training; instead, they were to prepare students for the duties of life, educate citizens for their responsibilities in the community, and increase their chances of employment (Hofstadter 1963: 333). By contrast with the earlier European academic view, promoted in particular by the Committee of Ten in 1893, the NEA now promoted an American, nonacademic brand of public education based on utility, democracy, and scientific measures of progress.

Compulsory mass secondary education had to be "practical and pay dividends" (Hofstadter 1963: 299) by increasing the individual's opportunities for upward mobility. It had to be suited to all citizens, not just the college bound, and had to meet the needs of students from various backgrounds, of different abilities, and of different motivations. In addition, it had to fulfill the taxpayer's needs for accountability in a free-market society. The faith in tests and in the truth of test results reflected a scientific positivistic view of learning: whether it be faculties of the mind or of the body, ultimate competence was composed of the accumulation of separate, discipline-specific *skills* that were nontransferable to other areas of knowledge and could be tested by scientifically designed, standardized tests.

This educational philosophy made the study of a foreign language a luxury. Foreign languages were neither necessary to the pursuit of individual happiness, nor for furthering the cause of mass democracy. Moreover, the teaching of foreign cultures was seen as detracting from the goals of the melting pot ideology. However, when after a period of steady decline, foreign languages picked up again in the late 1970s, they were viewed in the same educational spirit as all the other skills taught in school. But now, these skills had to serve more complex international goals. As a series of political setbacks in Iran and Afghanistan raised questions about U.S. diplomatic ability and as the Japanese economic miracle posed an unprecedented challenge to U.S. international business, competency in foreign languages was viewed as a solution to the nation's problems. The 1979 report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies reflects less the spirit of the Helsinki accords than the pressing national concerns of the time: "Nothing less is at issue than the nation's security. At a time when the resurgent forces of nationalism and ethnic and linguistic consciousness so directly affect global realities, the U.S. requires far more reliable capacities to communicate with its allies, analyze the behavior of potential adversaries, and earn the trust and the sympathies of the uncommitted. Yet there is a widening gap between these needs and the American competence to understand and deal successfully with other peoples in a world of flux. . . .In our schools and colleges. . .the situation cries out for a better comprehension of our place and our potential in a world that, though it still expects much from America, no longer takes American supremacy for granted. . . .Our lack of language competencies diminishes our capabilities in diplomacy, in foreign trade, and in comprehension of the world in which we live and compete" (Perkins 1980).

Such a statement is revealing on several counts. (1) It dramatizes the American dilemma of wanting to exercise leadership on the international scene without having the linguistic ability to do so. However, it sees in foreign languages mere tools for the accomplishment of other, more important American goals such as "living and competing" and ultimately regaining supremacy in a world which, like football games, is divided from the start into allies, adversaries, and uncommitted. Foreign languages are viewed here, as the rest of education, in their utility to further American actions and beliefs. They are not linked to a deeper cultural competence that would allow Americans first to understand the world and thus distinguish their allies from their adversaries. (2) It implicitly assumes the universality of the U.S. democratic, utilitarian system of thought by decrying U.S. citizens' diminished "comprehension of the world," but not their diminished comprehension of their own society.

The President's Commission report struck a familiar chord among American foreign language educators, who, unlike their counterparts in other countries' educational systems, had been conditioned since 1911 to a democratic and pragmatic view of education. The concept of "language proficiency" and oral proficiency testing, taken over from government agencies in 1980,

and the adaptation of the Foreign Service Institute proficiency scale for educational purposes reopen the question of the relation of language and culture. Since "cultural proficiency" is much more difficult to measure than, say, speaking proficiency, to this day it has not found its place in the Proficiency Guidelines of the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL 1986), although some suggestions have been made for French.

In the debate surrounding the link between language and culture, I believe, with Bourdieu (1967), that systems of education breed systems of thought and that those systems of thought constitute a great deal of what we call the "culture" of a given society. At the very least, it represents the value attached by a given society to the phenomenon of language and culture itself.

Since foreign language education is governed in the United States by some 1,600 school boards across the country, it could be instructive to look at the guidelines currently issued by the boards of education of the respective states to see how they suggest integrating the teaching of language and culture.[1]

1.1.1 Skill versus Content: The States' Boards of Education Guidelines

Unlike other school systems, in which foreign languages are studied over a long period of time in small increments (see, for example, for France, Porcher 1983), in the United States foreign languages are taught in a relatively intensive manner for a short period of time (one or two years on the average between the ages of twelve and eighteen); they are rarely compulsory and rarely accompanied by travel or study abroad or by history/geography courses that deal with the target country. Culture is commonly seen as making the study of a language more attractive, and as providing a welcome relief from grammar and vocabulary exercises. Learning about a foreign culture is not expected to require any intellectual effort, since it is generally conceived only as the tourist's view of foreign ways of life. The teaching of a foreign culture is seen as distinct from "language training"—many feel that it could be done almost more efficiently in English.

The states' guidelines spell out the suggested or mandated political goals of foreign language education in U.S. public schools, their nonacademic objectives and their academic learning outcomes.

1.1.2 Political Goals

The primordial impetus and ultimate purpose for learning foreign languages in most of the states at this time is what the President's Commission has called "this nation's security." This gives a tone of urgency to most of the states' guidelines, which claim such goals as: meet the challenge of international economic and technological advances (Utah); reinforce this nation's security (Pennsylvania, Indiana); cultivate international understanding, responsibility, and effective participation in a global age (Wisconsin); permit effective participation in the local, national, and international community (Pennsylvania), in an interdependent global society (Michigan); foster cross-cultural awareness (Texas); reduce provincial biases, help recognize and respect differences among people and cultures, bring about world peace (Hawaii); provide all students with cultural and linguistic sensitivities necessary for world citizenship (Connecticut).

1.1.3 Nonacademic Objectives

The states' guidelines reflect the nonacademic tenets of American education.

•*Life adjustment.* "Foreign languages prepare students for success, not just for admission to college. . .all students should expect the development of foreign skills that are usable in real life contexts. . .teachers should think about language learning in terms of students' proficiency to do, not only in terms of grammar or seat time" (Springfield, Massachusetts); "a consensus exists among foreign language professionals, in the body politic, among students and parents and among educators in general that the main goal of foreign language learning should be the ability to demonstrate practical, meaningful use of the language" (California); "the U.S. need a citizenry competent in foreign languages because more people than ever go abroad for business, pleasure and education" (Pennsylvania); Americans need "skills to participate in the international business market" (Connecticut, Michigan); "foreign language study is a vital factor in Michigan's economy" (Michigan).

•*Accessibility to all.* "Every American public student should have the opportunity to acquire proficiency in a second language" (Wisconsin); "Study of a foreign language is not an educational luxury, should not be limited to the upper 25% or to those going to college" (Indiana); "Foreign language study doesn't require superior control of one's native tongue to succeed" (Springfield, Massachusetts); "Foreign languages do not represent an elitist, anachronistic view of education" (Wisconsin).

•*Career opportunities.* "A foreign language is a marketable skill" (Wisconsin); "means employability" (Michigan); "career opportunities" (Connecticut, Utah).

•*Accountability.* "What is taught should be tested . . .testing is an integral component of instruction" (Virginia); "Every course taught in Arkansas public schools develops identifiable skills, the mastery of which can be assessed by performance tests" (Arkansas); Foreign languages provide a "testable skills continuum" (Kentucky).

•*Discovery of American diverse cultural heritage, maintenance of American cultural values.* The goal of foreign language learning is "to understand and appreciate people of different nationalities and ethnic groups and their contributions to the development of our nation and culture" (Virginia); "helps understand one's ancestors"

(Utah). "Students should develop a deeper comprehension of their own culture by exploring another" (Texas, Virginia).

1.1A Academic Learning Outcomes

Besides general educational goals such as "the acquisition of logical, critical, creative thinking skills" (Michigan), the states' guidelines set linguistic and cultural goals to foreign language study. It should "teach the basic listening, speaking, reading and writing skills which will lead to the ability to think and to communicate in the language" (Hawaii), to "proficiency" (Texas), to "mastery" (Pennsylvania); "provides occasions for observing French culture and behaving in ways appropriate to it" (Springfield, Massachusetts). "Communication in the foreign language should be the major objective and the dominant activity in foreign language classrooms" (California).

The discrepancies between the pragmatic and the idealistic, the nonacademic and the general educational, the national and the international goals of U.S. education are striking. How can intercultural understanding arise from a skill-oriented, behaviorally conceived foreign language proficiency? Do global understanding and cross-cultural awareness automatically grow out of being able to master the present tense, order a meal in a restaurant, or handle social situations (ACTFL 1986)? How can critical thinking emerge from the unquestioned American view of the pursuit of happiness? How can world peace and effective participation in an interdependent global society result from the adversarial view of the world suggested by the President's Commission? Finally, how can international, intercultural goals be tested on an ACTFL proficiency scale that is typical of American educational culture? Connecticut is one of the only states that shows concern in this regard: "As long as foreign language teaching emphasizes only skill development in a second language, global education will not be a vital part of the foreign language curriculum. However, if emphasis in foreign language instruction is placed upon the way language and culture interact and influence the way one sees the world and upon the role language itself plays in the interdependence of nations, there is a strong relationship between foreign language education and global education" (Connecticut).

It is interesting to contrast American objectives in the teaching of language and culture with the stated goals of foreign language education in secondary schools in Europe. Neither in France nor in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) do foreign languages require the extensive legitimation needed in the United States for historic reasons. One or two foreign languages are the standard fare of all students completing their secondary education. However, government guidelines do specify in both countries what the learning outcomes should be within the general educational philosophy of that country.

1.2 Systems of Language and Systems of Thought (France)

The political reasons for studying foreign languages, for example English or German, in public schools in France are stated in sober and realistic terms. "English is spoken as a first or second language in many countries in the world." "We cannot overestimate the particular importance of our relations with those countries where German is the state language, and which constitute a linguistic and cultural community of major demographic, economic and political importance. The only one in Europe that serves as a bridge between western and eastern bloc countries" (Instructions ministérielles, 1986).

The goals of foreign language education are threefold:

1. The linguistic goal is to acquire automatic behaviors (*automatismes*) in the use of the language through appropriate training. Grammar should be presented and taught not only in its morphosyntactic form, but also in its functional semantic aspects. Oral skills are primordial but should be developed through the study of written texts, read aloud, summarized, and discussed. Role-plays and other communicative activities should not be overdone. Training in the written language is to develop not only grammatical and lexical accuracy but also basic rhetorical skills such as "logical coherence of demonstration, chronological coherence in narration, spatial coherence in description."

2. The cultural goal is to acquire knowledge of the daily life, the political, social, and economic organization, of the artistic and literary production and of the major historic events of the country under study.

3. The educational goals are primarily conceptual. Study of German, for example, should "broaden students' intellectual horizon, develop their appreciation for effort, method and rigor, and refine their intellectual, esthetic and moral judgment and sensibility."

These goals reflect the traditional French belief that the acquisition of language is the formation of mental structures, that learning to talk is learning to think, and that social acceptability in French society and abroad is not only a question of using grammatically correct sentences, but employing the patterns of thought of the dominant, i.e., educated, discourse of that society (Bourdieu 1982). Of course, this view not only acknowledges social differences in the native language, but replicates them in the acquisition of a second. By teaching foreign languages, the French educational system fulfills its mission of furthering upward social mobility through an awareness of the intellectual value of language and culture per se.

The question is: do these conceptual outcomes further any more the cause of intercultural understanding than the American? Does every one in the world share the French view of the importance of the intellect? To what extent is upward mobility always linked to the ability to speak and write well in different languages and

to know other cultures? A more serious question raised by the French model is the following: is intercultural understanding linked to a specific kind of social literacy and thus inevitably class-specific?

1.3 Language Learning and Political Consciousness (Hessen)

Since education in the FRG is in the hands of the Ministries of Culture of the individual *Länder*, I will take only one example, that of Hessen, whose guidelines are considered to offer a model of democratic progressive education (Rahmenrichtlinien 1980). The goals of foreign language education are stated there as furthering the development of the learner's personality through the acquisition of information and the ability to reflect critically on that information. More specifically, and in order of priority, knowledge of a foreign language is claimed to:

1. enable students to gather information autonomously from foreign sources and increase their chances of becoming informed citizens,

2. enable them through the exercise of critical reflection to bear political responsibility and to contribute to the shaping of the community,

3. increase their professional qualification. At least one foreign language should be accessible to as large a student population as possible. (p. 11)

The emphasis on these goals, as opposed to the more conceptual French goals, is understandable, given both recent German history and Germany's enlightenment tradition in education. Intellectual goals are closely linked to Habermas's "demystification" of ideologies (Habermas 1970), moral objectives have to do less with self-esteem and personal values (American tradition), personal integrity and intellectual purity (French tradition) than with conscious social and political action. Thus message content, not rhetorical style, is of prime importance in the development of communicative competence. Learning a language is not a linguistic or pragmatic game. Reading activities and group discussions in the classroom are meant to develop the ability to collect information, to convey and understand intentions and above all, to reflect upon them critically.

As we examine the West German goals and match them with the current international demands in education, several questions arise: does the emphasis on the content of information at the expense of its form and structure not present an incomplete picture of intercultural communication? Intellectual styles (Galtung 1985) or patterns of thought (Bourdieu 1967) are socially and culturally determined and are so inseparable from the informational content transmitted that communication breakdowns occur more often than not at the level of discourse, not at the level of the facts presented. Some of these breakdowns are apparent, for example, when American students of German are given textbooks written by Germans to teach German as a foreign language and are asked to adopt a culturally different learning style.

The second question concerns the emphasis put in the Hessian guidelines on "demystifying" current ideologies. Since there can be no nonideological absolute standpoint, it might be more useful to think in terms of the negotiation and joint construction of a reality that is agreed upon as a safeguard against communicative intolerance.

Finally, there is no easy passage from reflection and enlightenment to action. If the American view might be seen as too much focused on language as a tool for action, the European view might be considered to be too concerned with language as an object of linguistic or social reflection. Both views illustrate two complementary aspects of culture: culture as performance and culture as competence, to which I will now turn.

1.4 Culture as Performance and Competence

The need to account for the cultural dimensions of language forces us to review the traditional, positivistic conceptions of quantitative, normative, linear language learning.

There is a noticeable gap, for example, in most of the U.S. boards of education guidelines, between the intercultural goals of foreign language education and their behavioristic theory of language. In Virginia, language is seen only as a set of symbols or tools: "Language is a set of symbols used by people to convey meaning. . .tools for transmitting thoughts and ideas" (Virginia, vol. I, p. 5); "Language learning includes the acquisition of many skills" (Pennsylvania p. 5). It is not clear how purposeful, intercultural communication emerges from the acquisition of isolated skills. In New York, we note the same discrepancy between the goals and the means. The communicative goals are no less than "the ability to understand, respect and accept people of a different race, sex, ability, cultural heritage, national origin, religion and political, economic and social background as well as their values, beliefs and attitudes" (p. 4). But to reach these goals, teachers are encouraged to "use principles of mastery learning, and to use informal and/or formal testing to assure achievement of the objectives." In the Oklahoma guidelines, we read on the one hand: "The ultimate goal is the student's proficiency in the French-speaking world. Attainment of this goal may also bring about an awareness of self and a reassessment of personal values" (p. 4), but on the other hand, testing the achievement of those goals is suggested in the following manner: "Demonstrate curiosity about the French culture and empathy toward its people. Example: Students might experiment with new foods such as snails, truffles, frog legs or cheese; try a new sport, such as soccer, or make the effort to get into a letter exchange with a French teenager" (p. 46). Experimenting with snails and truffles hardly shows deep understanding of and empathy toward French attitudes and values.

In a recent assessment of communicative language tests, Hart, Lapkin, and Swain (1987: 89) take a sober view on the attempts to measure both the linguistic and the cultural dimensions of communicative competence of students in communicative language teaching programs such as the French immersion programs in Canada. They show that even though these tests were holistic in conception, the test measures developed in most instances approached discrete-point, single trait indicators. "Overall operationalisation of the dimensions of communicative competence essentially required operationalising single skills—in other words discrete-point measures." They conclude with the realization that "without a framework to interpret outcomes in relation to learning process and learning opportunities, the pedagogical value of the results is severely restricted. In other words, the appropriateness of task-based criterion-referenced tests to general language education is largely dependent on possessing a prior framework for interpreting results." And that framework, as we know, is culture-bound itself.

2. CURRENT EFFORTS TO LINK THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

In the wake of the President's Commission report following the 1975 Helsinki agreement, several developments on the national level have served to make foreign languages part of a general push for the internationalization of American education.[2]

2.1 Internationalization of American Education

Realizing the need to meet the demands of a "global society" in which the United States has to deal with trade deficits, competitiveness and disarmament issues, and realizing in addition that the United States is less and less a melting pot, but more and more a permanently multicultural salad bowl, efforts are being made at the federal level to internationalize American education. The American Council on Education is surveying the following aspects of international studies at the undergraduate level in colleges and universities in the United States: internationally oriented majors, minors, and certificate programs; foreign language instruction; study abroad; faculty development, including support for travel abroad and curriculum development; visiting foreign faculty and lecturers, foreign students; internationally oriented library resources; and institution-to-institution linkages overseas.

2.2 National Foreign Language Center

Under the direction of Richard Lambert, the NFLC convened a special task force on the teaching of language and culture in September 1987 to explore pedagogical needs and existing materials. Participants included scholars in English and comparative literature, anthropology, foreign language acquisition, and linguistics, and representatives of governmental agencies and business corporations. Participants agreed that culture is both something you perform and something you learn about. The discussion addressed questions related both to cultural performance and cultural competence. Related to cultural performance were such issues as: What can best be learned by living in the country? What is best learned in a domestic instructional setting? At what stage should the learners learn which features? How can teaching culture be adapted to the purposes of the learner in a foreign country? What is an appropriate unit of teaching: the communicative situation? behavioral segments? speech acts? How should we select which cultural features to teach: their generalizability across situations? their capacity to be matched with linguistic features? How can we measure cultural competence: directly, indirectly? How can recent technological advances help in the teaching of culture? Eleanor Jorden's interactive video material for teaching Japanese cultural performance represents a major step in the right direction.

With regard to cultural competence, the planning group discussed the general education goals of the teaching of culture: cultural aspects of discourse and conversational style, critical reading skills transferred from mother tongue reading classes, multiple perspectives on C2 read in the learners' native language or in the target language, initiation to a nation's imaginative universe of dreams, myths and self-perceptions as contrasted with the learner's own native imaginative universe. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Athena language learning project, in particular Furstenberg's and Morgenstern's interactive video material, represent original advances in an exploratory pedagogy for the development of cultural competence. Cultural competence can best be developed in a structured learning environment, where conscious parallels can be drawn, where language can be explicitly linked to its meaning in a particular sociocultural and historical context, and where disparate linguistic or cultural phenomena can be brought together and attached to more abstract principles of both base (C1) and target (C2) language and culture. Teachers should continually deepen their understanding of both C1 and C2 by reading studies from a variety of sources that help identify and analyze cultural patterns in the series of isolated cultural facts which they experience or teach about.

2.3 Cultural Proficiency Guidelines

The American Association of Teachers of French (AATF 1987) has suggested adding cultural proficiency to the ACTFL speaking, listening, reading, and writing proficiency guidelines (ACTFL 1986). It defines cultural proficiency as a combination of three interrelated parts: the sociolinguistic skill of communication, certain areas of knowledge, and certain enlightened attitudes. Here are some excerpts from the basic cultural competence or

"Minimal Social Competence" as described in the AATF culture guidelines. It corresponds to levels novice through advanced on the ACTFL language proficiency scale.

•*sociolinguistic ability*: can meet all the demands for survival as a traveler. . .; can handle any common social situation with an interlocutor accustomed to foreigners: make polite requests, offer and receive gifts and invitations, apologize, make introductions, and discuss some current events or policies, a field of personal interest, a leisure-time activity of one French-speaking country; can participate in a conversation if conducted in "français soigné," perhaps asking to have some expressions repeated or paraphrased; manage to convey an attitude of good will via tone of voice and nonverbal means.

•*knowledge* can interpret simple menus, timetables. . .; beyond the survival level, knows about the phases of "culture shock" and how they may affect perception; can identify the truth or untruth implied in the stereotypes of his or her home culture and of French culture; can list a few common attitudes regarding public behavior and appearance and can produce a few proverbs or sayings which reflect a world view one encounters in one French-speaking country or region; can name several present political parties in France, and two or three major contemporary issues; can describe in broad outline the main geographical regions, the political institutions, the public education system; can describe or give examples of qualities prominently sought in French education, such as clear expression and organization of ideas, knowledge of French history and geography, and prevalent assumptions such as the contrast between friends and outsiders or between work and leisure. . .; can identify, in a literary or a journalistic text, examples of elevated style and of familiar and popular expressions, and in reading, can point out some of the verbal indications of attitudes, hidden quotations or allusions. (p. 10)

•*enlightened attitudes* (desirable at the basic level, indispensable at the superior level): curiosity about discovering similarities and differences between one's home culture and French culture; without losing one's own identity, a basic desire to accommodate to the norms of the foreign society; the determination to avoid over-generalization and stereotyping; awareness of the fact that one's perceptions and judgments are patterned by one's home culture, and are subject to temporary influences such as the phases of culture shock; a critical approach to statistics and opinion polls: a concern to know the date and scope of the evidence, even if one is not able to judge the credibility of the agency; a fair-minded, relativistic appreciation of cultural differences to the point of being able to present objectively some judgments that foreigners make concerning one's home country.

These first steps towards a classification of cultural performance and competence show how risky any attempt at developing a national instrument for evaluating cultural competence is bound to be. Indeed, the efforts made by the AATF to define and measure cultural proficiency bring to light some of the major current obstacles to the integration of language and culture in the teaching of foreign languages.

3. CURRENT OBSTACLES

3.1 The Notion of "Global Village" and the Assumed Universality of Modern Managerial, Commercial, Scientific Cultures over the National Historical/ Humanistic (Pfeiffer 1988: 52)

This view conceals more subtle forms of ethnocentricity in the guise of universal pragmatic needs. For example, the Cassandra cries about the loss of U.S. supremacy in business and diplomacy are giving the learning of foreign languages and cultures self-serving, promotional incentives that might skew any genuine understanding of other world views.

For example, in the United States, the fact that the 27 million Hispanics will be 30 million by 1990 and 40 million by the year 2000 has aroused a sudden interest of business firms in the Hispanic market. Commercial ads are becoming extremely sensitive to the culture of the target clientele: Coors beer, for example, is not shown drunk by individuals in bars but at home, in a climate of sharing and family togetherness. And yet, the anchorman lumps all Mexicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans together and refers to them with the U.S. political term "Hispanics," a label no Mexicans or Salvadorans would use to characterize themselves.

Similarly, a recent article in the *Boston Globe* insisted that it is not enough for immigrant professionals to speak perfect English; they must "speak American," what specialists in the newly emerging field of multicultural work force management call "pragmatic strategizing" (Fliegel 1987). To quote from the article: "An innovative computer specialist, Wei-Jing Chen, organized and presented his ideas in an 'emblematic mode.' From the Chinese point of view, this mode, which is deferential, anecdotal and circuitous, seeks to address an issue by describing the surrounding terrain. The great strength of this approach rests in its patient thoroughness and its collectivist emphasis on reaching group harmony by avoiding direct conflict. To Americans, however, it sounds vague and is often too oblique to grasp. For Wei-Jing the key was learning how to take full advantage of the American modes of organizing and presenting ideas. By making repeated impromptu presentations in a series of private sessions, Wei-Jing learned to organize his ideas and to speak on his feet." Similarly Maria Rodriguez, a Peruvian doctor, had a more self-contained conversational mode than the American mode and a higher tolerance of silence, and she imposed less of a response imperative. Saying something to a colleague or a superior just for the sake of responding seemed to her presumptu-

ous. Her American colleagues concluded she lacked motivation and interest in her work and she was not promoted. But through training she acquired responsive modes and solved her "problem." The article ends with her comment, which "sums up the experience of many immigrant professionals with pragmatics: 'Before I didn't realize what people were expecting from me. Now I feel free to speak, free to contribute.'"

The slightly uncomfortable feeling we have in reading these examples of successful acquisition of cultural performance is that it doesn't seem to be accompanied by any gain in cultural understanding either on the part of the clients or on the part of the American journalist who tells the story. On the contrary, the closing lines of the piece seem to reinforce the ideological stereotype of America as the land of freedom symbolized by American "free" conversational style. A similar ethnocentric result would be achieved if teachers of English as a second language used the film *Crosstalk* (Gumperz et al. 1979) as behavioristic training for successful job interviews without at the same time increasing the cross-cultural sensitivity of *both* parties to the cultural dimensions of discourse.[3]

3.2 The Conduit Metaphor for Language: Influence of Information-processing Theories on the Way Acquisition of Knowledge and Intercultural Communication Are Perceived to Take Place

The "conduit" metaphor, first coined by Reddy (1979), expresses the all too pervasive notion that language is but a mere conduit for information, like a water pipe or a tobacco pipe, a closed and culturally neutral system of linguistic forms and structures. Smith decries this view in a recent article entitled "A Metaphor for Literacy: Creating Worlds or Shunting Information?": "Our perceptions of literacy are narrowed if not distorted by the pervasive tendency, in education as well as in language theory and research, to regard language solely as the means by which information is shunted from one person to another" (1985: 195). Smith echoes here the concerns of other linguists, such as Fishman, who regrets the absence of language consciousness in much of modern educational culture: "In our popular culture and even in much of our intellectual culture, language is viewed as merely a means of communication" (1982: 5).

3.3 Emphasis on Imperative Knowledge; Influence of Computer Science Technology on the Way Knowledge Is Used

Emphasis is generally on the acquisition of "imperative" knowledge (how to do things and how to make people do things) through the transmission and exchange of information, not on "descriptive" knowledge (how to express and understand things) through interpretation (Abelson and Sussman, 1985). And yet we know that the basis of culture is not only shared knowledge but shared rules of interpretation (Garfinkel 1986), what Galisson calls the "CCP" of words, or "charge culturelle partagée" (1987).

This obstacle is compounded by positivistic tendencies in education that consider testability as a criterion of teachability (Coste 1980). The AATF suggestions for the testing of cultural competence mentioned above illustrate well how impossible it is to rate fairly a holistic competence through discrete point measures, and how the whole gets lost if one tries to equate it to the sum of its parts.

3.4 Television and the Illusion of Immediate Mediation between Cultures

Television's ability to bring whole new worlds into one's living room and its total claim on domestic and foreign reality hide the fundamental sociocentrality of the medium as a model of meaning production (Ong 1977, Fiske and Hartley 1978, Gumpert and Cathcart 1982, Geisler 1985, Kozloff 1987). Television viewers have been socialized into seeing foreign countries and events through the cultural discourse of their own television or, if satellite and other reception permits, through the cultural codes of a foreign television discourse. The fact that a society's television programs reflect a certain cultural consensus on the way social reality is viewed makes the medium into a unique tool for teaching foreign cultures as they are presented through foreign television; but at the same time, because of its appearance of universality, television can be the greatest obstacle to appreciate and understand cultural differences if it is not critically "deconstructed" and placed in its own cultural discourse framework. For example, there is a long German tradition of foregrounding the process of narration in television films, whereas American cinematic style tends to obliterate all traces of enunciation. Uninformed American viewers of German television films tend to find the lack of American-type suspense and action disconcerting, and the pace much too slow.

3.5. Lack of a Theoretical Framework for the Discussion of Culture and for Contrastive Cultural Analyses

Whereas the teaching of language draws on some descriptive nomenclature based on a theory of language, the teaching of culture is left with its anecdotal experiential base, or is forced into the theoretical framework of other disciplines like history, sociology, anthropology, semiotics, etc. In itself this might not be a drawback, but it does mean that teachers of culture must consciously straddle multiple disciplines and integrate their respective insights *for themselves* before they can teach such an integration to their students. Teacher development should broaden its traditional narrow philological or literary focus. Suggestions have been made recently in this respect by McLeod (1976), Müller (1980, 1981), and Kramsch (1983, 1987a, 1987c, 1988a).

4. REFRAMING TRADITIONAL QUESTIONS

An intercultural pedagogic approach would require that we reassess the traditional questions asked of foreign language education in instructional settings.

4.1 Is a Foreign Culture Learned Best in a Domestic Instructional Setting or by Living and Studying Abroad?

Wrong question. Rather, one should be concerned about the appropriate balance of cognitive and experiential learning that are both equally essential to the acquisition of cultural competence and performance. One of the advantages of studying abroad is not only in the practice of the forms of the language, but in the exposure to other intellectual styles, other ways of framing questions, and other ways of interpreting social, historical, and political facts. But even there, experiencing these different discourse forms does not make them meaningful without conscious intercultural reflection. This takes place at best in instructional settings.

4.2 Is a Foreign Language Course the Best Place to Teach Culture, or Is It Best Taught in a Separate Course Taught in L1?

This question assumes that a language can be taught without teaching the way in which that language expresses the world view of the social group or society that speaks it. We must reframe the question as follows: what is the appropriate balance of the development of socialization and of literacy in the foreign language? The question is not "Socialization or literacy?" but "When and how much should we teach how to perform social acts in the language? When and how much should we teach how to interpret oral and written texts?" (Kramsch 1987b).

4.3 What Is the Best Way to Teach the Advanced Levels: Language Courses or Content Courses Taught in the Language?

Wrong focus. The question should focus instead on the teaching of critical discourse. Content courses are obviously an excellent way of using the language for various academic and professional purposes. However, one has to ask, from what cultural perspective are these courses taught? Which point of view is represented in the transmission of cultural knowledge: that of the base or that of the target culture? the "business/management" point of view or other intellectual points of view also? Culture can only be really understood within relational systems of thought, indeed within "ecological" forms of pedagogy, in the Batesonian sense.

4.4 If Only Short Times of Exposure Are Available, What Should Be Taught: Basic Language Skills or General Education Competencies?

This question assumes that one can separate skill from content in the development of communicative competence. It is a fallacy to believe, for example, that an uneducated language learner will be successful in achieving the lofty goals of the U.S. President's Commission and the cultural goals of the states' guidelines without additional education. Rather, an intercultural approach should abandon the native speaker as ideal or norm and focus instead on developing the learner's biculturalism, as it does its bilingualism. It should, therefore, instill basic language courses with the intellectual excitement generated by forms of learning that are typically attributed to general education and academic achievement: relational and critical thinking, observation of and reflection on interactional processes, interpretive ability, etc. (Kramsch 1987a and 1987b).

4.5 How Do We Bring Students to Be Sufficiently Competent to Be Able to *Use* the Language in Real Settings?

This question is a variant of question 4 above. It takes a short-term view of language competence, by assuming that linguistic and cultural *performance* is all that is needed in the beginning. It assumes again that one first learns the skills, then one learns the content. In fact, both have to be taught simultaneously right from the start.

4.6 How Can We Break the Hammerlock of Humanists on the Teaching of Foreign Languages?

Wrong question. Not by whom or in which domain of knowledge should languages be taught, but what kinds of discourse should be activated and how: the instructional discourse of schooling, the transactional discourse of information transfer, the interactional discourse of communicative language learning, or critical forms of discourse that reflect on the other three and on the way knowledge is displayed, transmitted and acquired (Kramsch 1988b)?

4.7 Should the Teaching of Language Be Coupled to That of Literature or Not?

Literature is but one of the many cultural discourses to which foreign language learners should be exposed. To the extent that they are the products of a given culture, works of foreign literature read by foreign nonintended readers present a special challenge in intercultural communication that eminently serves to further intercultural education (Wierlacher 1985, Bredella and Haack 1988, Kramsch 1988a). Again it is a question of balance between the different discourse forms that coexist in a given culture.

CONCLUSION

This paper started by reviewing different educational traditions in the teaching of language and culture in an attempt to break some stereotypical misconceptions about the nature and role of language and culture in

foreign language education. We realized that even if some educational systems lay more emphasis on performance or on competence, cultural performance is inseparable from cultural competence and both are linked to the use of language in discourse. Current efforts in the United States are directed at linking the teaching of language to that of culture. In so doing, it faces major possibilities and obstacles: political incentives and advances in computer and video technologies, as well as insights gained from artificial intelligence, all open up possibilities for bringing the outside world into the classroom and for teaching culture in a multidimensional, authentic way. However, at the same time, they risk reducing the concepts of language and culture to positivistic, information-processing models that only thinly conceal age-old ethnocentric biases.

A proposal is made here to develop an intercultural approach to the teaching of linguaculture at all levels and in all aspects of the curriculum. This approach takes discourse as the integrating moment where culture is viewed, not merely as behaviors to be acquired or facts to be learned, but as a world view to be discovered in the language itself and in the interaction of interlocutors that use that language.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Laure Borgomano for making available to me her collection of states' guidelines. The different states' guidelines consulted here are as follows: *Foreign Languages Arkansas Public School Course Content Guide* (Little Rock, Ark.: State Board of Education, 1984); *Handbook for Planning an Effective Foreign Language Program* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1985); *A Guide to Curriculum Development in Foreign Languages* (Hartford: Connecticut State Board of Education, 1981); *French Language Program Guide* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Office of Instructional Services/ General Education Branch, Department of Education, February 1979); *Designing, Strengthening and Assessing School Foreign Language Programs. A Guideline for Administrators and Teachers* (Bloomington: Indiana Department of Public Instruction, Division of Curriculum, 1981); *Kentucky FL/ESL Skills Continuum* (Frankfort: Foreign Language Education, Kentucky Department of Education, 1980); *Position Paper on Foreign Language Education in Michigan Schools* (Detroit: Michigan State Board of Education, 1983); *Modern Languages for Communication. New York State Syllabus* (Albany: New York State Education Department, 1985); *Suggested Learner Outcomes. French* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma State Department of Education, August 1985); *Handbook for Foreign Language Educators* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1983); *Foreign Language Department Goal Statement. Materials Guide. Level I Materials* (Springfield, Mass.: Springfield Public Schools, 1986); *Secondary French Guidelines for Levels I,II,III* (Austin: Foreign Language Section, Division of Curriculum Development, Texas Educational Agency, 1978); *A Course of Study for Foreign Languages in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Office of Education, Division of Curriculum and Instruction, 1980); *Foreign Languages in Virginia Schools* (Richmond, Va.: Foreign Language Service, Department of Education, September 1977), vols. 1-7; *A Guide to Curriculum Planning in Foreign Language* (Madison: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1985); "Instructions ministerielles pour l'enseignement des langues vivantes," *Journal officiel* 6 (1986): 524-26; *Rahmenrichtlinien, Sekundarstufe I, Neue Sprachen* (Der Hessische Kultusminister [Ed.] Frankfurt a.M.: Diesterweg 1980).

2. Other U.S. initiatives worth mentioning are the Lauder Institute of Management and International Studies, especially their Language and Cultural Perspectives Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Besides professional proficiency in a foreign language, this program provides substantial knowledge of contemporary and traditional culture of educated native speakers of that language; history, economics, geography, literature, political science and philosophy, and religion, as well as the arts, media, and sports are taught in the foreign language; students are given also an understanding of management communication style, behavior, and cultural protocol in a range of professional and social settings. Another trend-setting initiative is the Integrative German Studies program at the University of Tübingen sponsored by the Bosch foundation for graduate students and young scholars from the United States. This is an interdisciplinary research project with the intention of developing comparative and interdisciplinary German Studies for Americans. The first seminar run for students from the University of California at Los Angeles took place in summer 1988.

3. At the same time, the *Los Angeles Times* published an article entitled "Security Threat Cited in Foreigner Jobs," where the "security threat" posed by the influx in foreign engineers referred to the dangers inherent in foreign intellectual styles. "Some experts worry that the traditional American emphasis on practical engineering problems may be eroding in favor of theoretical engineering sciences, a more prestigious pursuit but one less likely to contribute to American competitiveness in world markets" (Gillette 1988).

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